The
791 pi-mu, a Lolo magician, is invited to perform on this occasion. In every Lolo village there are always one or two families that specialize in magic, a profession hereditary from father to son for many generations. The pi-mu are outstanding personalities among the Lolo. In their houses are kept a number of Lolo scriptures for use in festivals, sickness, fortune-telling, the wedding ceremony, and all kinds of magic performances. The [212] scriptures are in the Lolo written language which survives to this day mainly because of its transmission by the pi-mu from master to pupil. The common people have no occasion to use the written language, which actually does not occupy as important a position in Lolo society as is generally believed.

When there is sickness in the family, the Lolo do not 756 depend upon medicine for a cure, but ask the pi-mu to perform magic to drive off the evil spirits. They believe that [753] sickness is caused by ghosts and goblins, and can be cured through exorcism. During the ceremony, as mentioned earlier, they sacrifice victims, such as an ox, sheep, pig, or [782] chicken, according to the nature of the sickness and the economic condition of the family. To kill cattle or chickens for [574] such an occasion provides the family with an opportunity for a big feast, which helps to vary the monotony of life and a regular vegetable diet.

[46] Praying for rain is an event of great importance. 782 Rain is scarce on the mountains where the Lolo live and cultivate their dry land. During a year of drought, they pray to 791 the mountain spirit for rain. The Lolo do not have a monotheistic concept and believe in an unseen world where a ghost or [771] goblin exists in every object. So they invite the pi-mu to perform magic to control the environment around them. When the Han-Chinese pray for rain, they direct their prayers to the dragon-king in the waters; the Lolo, on the other hand, notice [821] that rain comes from the mountain top and so they pray to the mountain spirit. This illustrates how religious ideas are influenced by environment. In praying for rain, they also seek the help of the pi-mu. After having killed a white sheep or a white chicken, they would go up the mountain and from the precipices scatter the blood-splattered white feathers to look like snow while the pi-mu chants the scripture and performs magic to beg for sweet rain. The rainmaking ceremony is very important because it is directly related to their economic life. Insufficient rain will affect the harvest of corn, buckwheat, oats, and other grains and result in a food shortage for the family.

is limited to the mysterious quality or the supernatural power of the object without involving any concept of ghosts and spirits.

[94] The belief in the souls, spirits, and ghosts is even more popular and universal in Lolo society. All kinds of sickness, death, and misfortune are due to the evil influence of the ghosts. Their names are many: ghosts of persons hanged, ghosts of dysentery, ghosts of persons murdered, su-nieh ghosts, ghosts of strangers, monkey ghosts, headache ghosts, and countless others. All ghosts and evil spirits can cause evil and bring disturbance and harm to human beings. So the Lolo are particularly afraid of the ghosts and have numerous rituals to control them. The spirits are not consistent in their good or bad behavior. Good spirits protect and aid the living, whereas bad spirits could change into ghosts to plague them. After death, family ancestors change into spirits following a soul-delivery ceremony. The original ancestor of the pi-mu is also a spirit who can be invoked to descend to earth. The Lolo do not make offerings to images or worship them. They have no concept of monotheism. All natural phenomena, such as sky, earth, sun, and moon, have spirits, but since these have little bearing on daily life, no ritual for their worship has evolved. The mountain spirit, called mi-hsi in the Lolo language, is comparatively the most important because it controls rain and is always invoked during rain-praying. Different mountains have different spirits who are not interrelated. The Lolo belief in the mountain spirit as an agent of rain control is diametrically opposed to the Chinese belief in the dragon king as the controller of rain. This merely indicates that religious ideas are influenced by the natural environment. The Lolo who live on high mountain tops have observed that the clouds, fog, and rain all descend from the peaks.

Animatism and animism co-exist in Lolo society and together constitute their religious thought. However, they differ in practical operation. On the one hand, magic power relies upon technical devices for its practice, and on the other the individual communicates with the supernatural world through a spiritualistic medium. The Lolo pi-mu is concurrently a chief priest and a magician. When he recites the scripture to communicate with spirits and when he officiates at sacrificial ceremonies, he assumes the position of a priest and spiritual medium; when he imprecates to subdue ghosts and when he performs ceremonies to cure sickness, he becomes a magician. Actually, the main duty of a Lolo pi-mu is none other than the practice of magic.

755 There are many kinds of sickness in Lolo families, but instead of using medicine, they effect cures through magic. First, the pi-mu will decide which evil spirit caused the sickness; then he will perform magic to cure it through exorcism. The way to cure a sick person is to send off the evil spirit, called "sending off the Buddha" by the Han-Chinese of the
[753] border regions. According to Lolo tradition, all sicknesses and misfortunes are caused by evil spirits. Therefore, three
751 times each year, on the third, seventh, and tenth months of
789 the lunar calendar, they perform an exorcising ceremony for the purpose of driving away the ghosts to ensure peace and safety for the family.

756 While the author was staying at San-ho-i-ta in Ta-
789 ling[1] Shan, he witnessed with his own eyes an exorcising ceremony at Li-ch'ü Ta-chi's household. The pi-mu, a villager, was a white Lolo called Shê-chia-erh. Followed by his disciple, who was none other than his twelve-or thirteen-year-old son, he performed with a bagful of magic tools. Both master
789 and disciple sat side by side behind the kitchen stove which was ordinarily the seat for honored guests. The father and son tied together a straw figure and cut some wood into tiny pieces that looked like coins. Then Shê-chia-erh rang a bell and began to recite the scripture, his disciple following him in the recitation. As they were chanting the scripture, they worked with their hands on the straw figure. The pi-mu then put a piece of stone inside the stove until it became red hot, after which he took it out of the stove, carried it with him to the master's bedroom, and walked around it once as if to chase away the ghosts. After this he came back and sat down again on the ground to recite more scripture, at the same time distributing the wooden pieces.

After the pi-mu had tied up four straw figures, Ta-chi, his wife nee En-cha, and their three children all squatted on the right side of the stove, the whole family making a circle. A white Lolo slave then grasped a cock with both hands and circled it above Ta-chi's head nine times before handing it to Shê-chia-erh. Then, with all his strength, the pi-mu struck the cock's neck with a sharp knife, all the time incessantly reciting the charms. After the cock had died, its blood was spread over the straw figures and the feathers were stuck on their bodies. The slave then led in a goat and held it seven times around Ta-chi's and the others' heads before killing it and sprinkling its blood over the straw figures. As the
[801] Lolo consider an odd number to be lucky, there has to be seven or nine rounds. The death of the cock and goat has the

[1] [Errata. Should be "liang" — Analyst.]

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Ancestor Worship of the Lolo in Ch'êng-chiang, Yunnan

The present article, taken from my manuscript "The Social Organization of the Lolo at Sung-tzu-yüan in Ch'êng-chiang, Yunnan," is Section 4 of Chapter III on "The Family". The investigation work was done in April and May, 1939, and the report was written in July of the same year, and later revised in the winter of 1943. 000'

It is conceded by men that after death a man leaves behind a disembodied spirit, either attached to some other body, or independently at large, freely floating around in this world or another. The spirit often lingers around its birthplace or burial ground, and possessing more powerful influence in spirit state than in human state, it brings either blessing or disaster to human beings. Since men fear disaster and long for blessing, they have devised spirit worship to avoid disaster and to court blessing. Passively, they respect the spirit but keep away from him; actively they exhaust all their intellectual resources to devise various symbolic acts and means to remain in good relationship with him. Men and their ancestors have a particularly intimate "parent-son" kinship which is different from any other relationship. Their affinity in this life continues into the next. Parents who in their lifetime "punish" and "protect" their children become influential spirits to dispense "disaster" or "blessing" after their death. This belief has generally persisted among men, and therefore ancestor worship has become an important form of spirit worship.

The Lolo in Yunnan believe so much in spirits that the official annal of that province 753

753 contains the following quotation from the Ch'u-hsiung Gazetteer:

> Any sickness taking place after the burial of deceased parents is attributed to the working of their spirits, and their graves have to be excavated in order to examine their bones to determine the extent of disaster.

776 This is just one example. The particular conception of the Lolo at Sung-tzu-yüan in Ch'êng-chiang regarding the spirits and ancestor worship is that after a man's death his soul still lingers in the shades, watching over his offspring and sending them "blessing" or "disaster" according to their goodness or badness in 769 filial piety. In every family are displayed the tablets for three generations of ancestors as well as the bamboo spirit and the pine spirit to represent all early ancestors. In the last twenty years they have come under the influence of Chinese customs and added to their household altar the spirit tablets of "Heaven, Earth, Lord, Parents, and Masters." Their ancestor worship has slightly changed with the change of times.

I. Burial Customs

In many aspects, the customs of burial are closely related to ancestor worship, and to analyse them helps us to understand better the different phases of ancestor worship. We shall divide our study into five phases: (1) death, (2) funeral, (3) disposal of the dead, (4) graves, (5) mourning.

755 (1) Death. A man becoming sick never has [753] the benefit of medicine. Sickness is considered as a disturbance of the spirits. When the spirit

is exorcised the sick person will get well. And so in case of sickness they ask a wizard priest to their home to pray and to drive away the evil spirit. If after several magic performances the person shows no sign of improvement, he is left to the will of Heaven, either to recover or to die. The official annal of Yunnan has the following to say: 755

> Sickness requires no medicine but consultation by the Pi-mo (Lolo word for the wizard priest) of the almanac to determine the date of birth and the date of sickness, as well as the symbolic animals such as cow, goat, pig, or chicken to which that particular date may belong. Accordingly prayer and sacrifice are made to one of these animals. (The Black Lolo)

/32/ The same annal further states:

> Sickness is not healed by medicine but by the magic of the wizard priest. (Tung-ts'uan Man)

Therefore, we know that for the Lolo the method of cure is not by medicine but by the magic of the priest. In the last decade, however, the Pi-mo as a cult practicer has gone out of existence at its Sung-tzu-yüan area, and there is no priest available for the purpose. On the other hand, a doctor of Western training, 757 one Mr. Tuan Hsin-wu, in Ch'êng-chiang has been in good relation with the Lolo villagers, and each time Doctor Tuan happens to be in the village the Lolo would ask him to attend to their sick. It can be seen that unconsciously [753]. the Lolo have adopted a new point of view regarding sickness. But Doctor Tuan does not visit them too frequently, because of the

5: Pollard M-5 (no date) 1921 AE4 Lolo AE4

264 to the meal, and begged that it might do as supper as well.
262 We suggested that it would last even as to-morrow's breakfast.

753 We had some difficulty in getting the people to face the camera. Several photos we took by stratagem. Possibly the Chinese spy had been telling them that I was going to take their spirits away with me in the camera, and the majority of them were too nervous to face the ordeal. When, however, later on I showed them in the magic-lantern the photos of my own boys they came to the conclusion that if there were any wicked magic in photography I would never have practised it on my own sons.

000 The fun with the moving figures was faster and more furious than ever. The laughter we managed to get during the time we were in Nosuland would take a lot of beating. So friendly did the people become that they begged me to send for my wife and children and settle down among them. This was before they went one further in these matters. I had the immense advantage of the presence of Mr Long, who spoke their language as they did, and was one of their own race, though he lived in China proper. Had I not had this great help I might have fared as badly as the second Englishman who got into the heart of Nosuland. The part reached by this unfortunate traveller was in the north, some distance from the farmstead at See-tieh, and many of my aboriginal friends deeply regret that in a quarrel that should never have happened he lost his life. The northern men persist in saying that the trouble would never have taken place had the two sides been able to understand each other's words. Unless a man is prepared to show infinite patience and resource, he should never venture among people whose words